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Analysis of a Zapotec Text: Zapoteco del Rincón.

Cuento que tu böni' xöhuëd que cabi gu'unë' guunë' dxin ate'
Story of a man lazy that not he-wanted he-will-do work and

böaquië' machin.
he changed into monkey.

I. L. V. TLALPAN LIBRARY

- I. 1. Tu böni' dza ni' guquië' xöhuëd cabi gu'unë' guune'
A man day that he-was lazy not he-wanted he-will-do
- II. 2. dxin. Cate' rejë' la' guixi' ruzë' du xcula beo' para
work When he-goes in field he-hangs rope loop moon to
- III. 3. rejë' bö'. Ate' bitibi dxin ruunë' la' guixi'.
he-goes wind (he swings). And not-any work he-does in field.
- IV. 4. Tsaridxinsë' rejë' bö' ga na' nuzë' du
He-goes-just-to-arrive he-goes wind where there he-has/hung rope
- V. 5. xcula beo' queë' ga rejë' bö'. En rugua'anu lë' yöta
loop moon of-him where he-goes wind. And she-carries him tortillas
- VI. 6. rahuë' xihuö nigula queë' requinu be ruunë' dxin. Cate'
he-eats dinner woman of-him she-believes is he-does work. When
(?)
7. gula' hora yöyuunu ga na' dë la' yël quegaquië'
it-was time she-went-looked where there it-is in-garden of-them
8. röjeänë' dxin böni' queënu pero cate' gula' hora bidxinnu
he-goes-does work man of-her but when it-was time she-arrived
9. la' yël ruyuunu gazxi nuunë' dxin pero biti'ca' bi
in-garden she-looks where(?) he-is/doing work but not/~~thing~~/ thing
10. nala' dxin queë' en yugu' dza rejë' böni' queënu na' rugua'tënu
it-shows work of-him and every day he-goes man of her this she-carries-
11. yöta xihuö queë' pero cate' gula' hora bile'inu ga
promptly tortilla dinner of-him but when it-was time she-saw where
12. zë du nala' lu yaga ga rejë' bö' pero biti'
it-hangs rope it-shows in tree where he-goes wind but not
- VII. 13. guquibe'inu. Ate' söhuöanu lidxinu. Ate' cate' guyaanu
- VIII. she-knew. And she-goes-returning her-home. And when she-went
- IX. 14. ia'tu yöyuunu. Na' zoë' rejë' bö' pero bubi'inu.
again she-went-saw. There he-is he-goes wind but she-went-back.
- X. 15. Ate' cate' budxiinë' ga zoanu gudilenu lë'. Ate' lë'
XI. And when he-arrived where she-is she-scolded him. And he
- XII. 16. guzë'ë bitirö böjë' lidxe'. Buga'anösë'
he-went-out never he-returned his-home. He-just-remained

XIII.17.la' guixi' rëla en lahui' dza. Ate' cate' gusilo ribié'
in field night and face day. And when it-began he-grew

XIV. 18.guitsa'. Ate' cate' guuna' litsé' cate' gunözné'
hair. And when it-will-make his-fur when he-knew

XV. 19.chinuhuñaquié' machin. Ate' la' böni' buga'anösé'
already-he-is-changed-to monkey. And same man he-just-remained

XVI. 20.la' guixi' desde cate' birujé' lidxé'. Ate' ca' guca
in field since when he-went-out his-home. And thus it-was

21.ta'nagaca böñach que lëzi böni' na' böaquiné' machin
they-say people that also man that he-turned-into monkey

22.dzö'öba' gui'ado' como naca leba' canaca lo böñach.
it-is mountans because it-is its-face like-it-is face people.

XVII.23.Ate' ca' naca tealé'égaca ia'zicarö böñach canaca queëba'
And thus it-is they-believe other people how-it-is of-it

24.machin,
monkey.

Word analysis of "The Story of a Lazy Man that Didn't Want To Work and He Turned into a Monkey."

1. Tu böni' (S- Number limiter plus Noun head) dza ni' (T-Time
One man day that
word plus limiter) guquië' (P-Verb with included completive aspect
he-was
plus subject 'he') xöhuëd (E-equative) cabi (negativizer) gu'unë'
lazy not he-wanted
(P-Verb with included completive aspect plus subject) guunë'
he-will-do
(P-Verb with incompletive aspect plus subject) dxin (O-Noun)
work
2. Cate' (T-time word) rejë' (P- verb with customary aspect)
When he-goes
la' guixi' (L- directional plus place noun) ruzë' (P-verb
to field he-hangs
with customary aspect) du xcula beo' (O-Noun object with two
rope loop moon
noun modifiers) para (c-connective) rejë' bö' (P-O verb-customary
to he-goes wind
plus object for 'he swings')
3. Ate'(c- usually disjunctive) bitibi (N-O negativizer and
And not thing
object particle) dxin (O-noun) ruunë' (P) la' guixi' (L-2.2)
work he-does in field
4. Tsaridxinsë' (P- verb with progressive and customary
He-goes-just-to-arrive
aspect- very odd since there is another form to give this idea)
also contracted limiter sö with subject suffix.)
rejë' bö' (P-O - 2.4) ga na' (L- place and limiter)
he-goes wind where there
nuzë' (P- existential "he has it there hung") du xcula beo'
he has-hung rope loop moon
(O- 2.3) queë' (M- possessive modifier) ga (L- particle intro-
of-him where
ducing locative clause.)

rejë' bö' (P-O verb 'he swings')
he-goes wind

5. En (c connective) rugua'anu (P-verb) lë' (O- pronoun)
And she-carries him

yöta (O-noun) rahuë' (P- verb) xihuö (O-noun) nigula (S-noun)
tortilla he-eats dinner woman

queë' (M-possessive) requinu (P- verb) ba ruunë' (P- verb
of-him she-believes is-he-doing

with question marker) dxin (O- noun)
work

6. Cate' gula' hora (T- clause) yöyuunu (P- verb progressive-
When it-was time she-went-saw

completive) ga na' (L-4.3) dë (P- verb) la' yël (O- noun)
where there it-is garden

quegaquië' (M- possessive) röjeenë' (P- progressive customary)
of-them he-goes-does

dxin (O-noun) böni' (S-noun) queënu (M-possessive) pero
work man of-her but

cate' gula' hora (T- repetitive 6.1) bidxinnu (P-verb)
when it-was time she-arrived

la' yël (L- place noun) ruyuunu (P- verb) gazxi (L- with included
garden she-looks where

question marker) nuunë' (P- verb with existential aspect)
he-was-there-to-do

dxin (O-noun) pero biti'ca' bi (S- thing particle)
work but not a thing

nala' (P- verb with existential aspect-impersonal) dxin (S-noun)
it-shows work

queë' (M-4.5) en (c-) yugu' dza (T-time) rejë' ~~þy~~ (P-) ~~syyngë'~~ (P-)
of him and every day he-goes ~~þy~~

böni' (S-) queënu (M-4.5) na' (L-) rugua'tënu (P-
man of her that-one she carries promptly

verb with immediative affix.) yöta (O-) xhuö (M-noun)
tortilla dinner

queë' (M-4.5) pero (c-) cate' gula' hora (T- clause)
of-him but when it-was time

bile'inu (P) ga (L) zë (P) du nala' (P) lu yaga (L)
she saw where it-hangs rope (S) it shows on tree

ga (L) *reyë'* bö' (P-O) pero (c) biti' (N^ø) *guquibe'inu* (P)
where he goes wind but not she-knew

7. Ate' söhuöanu (P- verb with processive progressive
And (c) she'-goes-returning

aspect.) lidxanu (L- place noun)
her-home

8. Ate' (c) cate' (E-introducing time clause) guyaanu (P)
And when she went

ia'tu (M- adverb) **yöyüunu** (P- Verb with completive progressive)
again she-went-saw

9. Na' (L) zoë' (P) rejë' bö' pero (c) bubi'inu (P)
 There he-is/lives he goes wind but she-went-back

10. Ate' cate' (c-T) budxiiné' (P) ga zoanu (L clause)
And when he-arrived where she-is

gudilenu (P) lë' (IO)
she-scolded him

11. Ate' (c) lë' (S-pronoun) guzë'ë (P) bitirö (T- negative plus
 And he went never

emphatic) böjë' (P) lidxë' (L)
he returned his home

12. Buga'anösë' (P- bu- completive aspect, ga'an remained,
He just remained

sö just, contracted with ö', preceding ö a transition vowel) ö' he)

la' guixi' (L) rëla en lahu' dza (T- phrase filling time spot)
in field night and face day

13. Ate' (c) cate' (T) ~~gusayo~~ /~~(P)~~/ X gusilo (P) ribië' (P)
 And when it-will-make it-began he-grew

guitsa' (0)
hair

14. Ate' (c) cate' (T) guuna' (P) litsë' chinuhučaquië'
And when it-will-make his-fur already-he-was-

(P- verb-chi-already, nu-existential, hučac- change-ë' he)
turned-into

machin (E- equative).
monkey

15. Ate' (c) la' böni' (S- head noun and limiter) buga'anösë' (P-12.1)
And same man he-just-remained

la' guixi'(L) desde cate' (T) birujë' (P) lidxë' (L)
in field since when he-went-out his-house

16. Ate' (c) ca' (M) guca (P) canaca // (E-P) queëba' machin // (E)
And thus it-was // how-it-is // of-it // monkey //

ta'nagaca (P) böñach (S) que (c) lëzi (M) böni' na' (S-M)
they-say people that also man this

böaquinë' (P) machin (E) dzö'öba' (P) gui'ado' (L) como (c)
he-turned-into monkey it-is mountain because
naca (P) loba' (S) canaca (E-P) lo (E) böñach. (M)
it-is its-face like-it-is face people

17. Ate' (c) ca' (E) naca (P) tealë'ëgaca (P) ia'zicarö (M)
And thus it-is they-believe other
böñach (S) canaca (O-P) queëba' (O) mankëg (M)
people how-it-is of-it monkey

Symbols:

P- predicate

S- subject

O- Object

M- manner

L- locative

T- time

E- equative

M- modifier

Sentence and Clause Breakdown -7-

1. Cl • Cl S-T-P-E • P-O
2. ~~██████████~~ ~~██████████~~ Cl • c• Cl • e• Cl T^{CL}-P-O • c• P-O-TCl • c• P-O

2. Cl • c• Cl T^{CL}-P-O • c• P-O
 T^{CL} ... T-P-O
3. c• Cl ... O-O-P-L (negative clause)
4. Cl•Cl ... P • P-O-L^{CL}
 L^{CL} ... L-P-O-L^{CL} 2
 L^{CL} 2 ... L-P-O
5. c• Cl • Cl ... c. P-O^{CL} • S-P-O^{CL-2}
 O^{CL} ... O-P-O
 O^{CL-2} ... P-O
6. Cl•c• Cl • Cl•c• Cl • c• Cl • Cl • c• Cl • c• Cl
 T-P-L^{CL-1} • Cl-2 • c. T-P-L- • P-L^{CL-3} • c. O-P-S- • c. T-P-S • P-O- • c.
 T-P-L^{CL-4} • c. P-
 L^{CL-1} ... L-P-O
 L^{CL-2} ... P-O-S
 L^{CL-3} ... P-O
 L^{CL-4} ... L-P-S-L^{CL-5}
 L^{CL-5} ... L-P-O
7. c. Cl ... c. P-L
~~████████████████████████~~
8. c. Cl ... c. T^{CL} - P
 T^{CL} ... T-P
9. Cl. Cl .c. Cl ... L-P • P-O • c. P
10. c. Cl ... c. T^{CL}-P
 T^{CL} ... T-P-L^{CL}
 L^{CL} ... L-P

-8-

11. c . Cl . Cl ... c . S • P . P-L
12. Cl ... P-L-T
13. c . Cl ... c . T^{Cl-1.Cl-2} -P-O
 T^{Cl-1}... T-P-O
 T^{Cl-2} ... T-P
14. c . Cl ... c . T^{Cl},P-E
 T^{Cl} ... T-P-O
15. c . Cl . c . CL ... c . P-S-O^{Cl}. c . P-E^{Cl}
 O^{Cl} ... I-S-P-O^{Cl-2}
 O^{Cl-2} ... S-P-L
 E^{Cl} ,.. S-P-O
16. c . Cl . Cl ... c . P,P-S-O^{Cl}
 O^{Cl} ... P-S

Symbols

P- predicate

S- subject

O- object

T- time

L- locative

I- introducer

c- connector

E- equative

Cl- clause

... equals

-9- The Clause

1. In its simplest form the clause is a single predicate tagmeme consisting of a verb complex with included aspect and subject affixes and possibly others. (4,6,9,16)

eg. 9c bubi'nu 'she went back'

1.1 In all forms the clause must contain a predicate tagmeme with various other tagmemic orders and combinations.

1.1.1 Predicate tagmeme initial.

1.1.1.1 Predicate tagmeme and subject tagmeme- P + S . (16)

eg. 16 ta'nagaca böñach 'the people say (talk)'

1.1.1.2 Predicate tagmeme and object tagmeme P + O . (1,2,5,5,6,6,9)

eg. 1 guunë' dxin 'he will do work'

2 rejë' bö' 'he goes wind'

1.1.1.3 Predicate, object and location tagmemes P + O + L . (4)

eg. 4 rejë' bö' ga (clause) 'he goes wind where (clause)'

1.1.1.4 Predicate, object and subject tagmemes P + O + S . (6)

eg. 6 röjeenë' dxin böni' queënu 'he goes-does work her husband'

1.1.1.5 Predicate, Location, Time tagmemes P + L + T . (12)

eg. 12 Buga'anösë' la' guixi' rëla en lahui' dza. 'He-just-remained in-the-field day and night.'

1.1.1.6 Predicate, Subject, Object tagmemes P + S + O . (16,18)

eg. 17 tealë'ëgaca ia'zicarö böñach ca- (clause) 'they-believe other-people how- (clause)'

1.1.1.7 Predicate Equative tagmemes P + E (16)

eg. 14 chinuhüöaquië' machin 'already he was turned into a monkey'

1.1.1.8 Predicate Locative tagmemes P + L (6,7,11)

eg. 6 yöyuunu ga (clause) 'she-went-looked where (clause)'

söhuöanu lidxanu 'she-goes-returning her-house'

1.1.1.1.1 Generalized formula:

$$\nexists P \pm \nexists_E \pm \nexists \pm L \pm T$$

.1.1.2 Clauses with subject tahmeme initial.

1.1.2.1 Subject and Predicate tagmemes. S + P (11)

eg. 11 lë' guzë'ë 'he he-went-out'
equative

1.1.2.2 Subject, predicate and ~~ppjek~~ tagmemes. S + P + E (3, 15)

eg. ~~X~~/ppjek/ 16. böni' na' böaquinë' machin 'Man this turned-
into-monkey'

1.1.2.3 Subject, predicate, and location tagmemes. S + P + L ^{time} + T
_A ^{desde cate'} (15)

eg. 15 la' böni' buga'anösë' la' guixi' 'same man he-just-remained
in field' since when (Clause)

1.1.2.4 Subject, Time, Predicate, Equative tagmemes S + T + P + E (1)

eg 1 Tu böni' dza ni' guquië' xöhuëd 'A man day that he-was lazy'

1.1.2.1.1 Generalized Formula for Subject initial clauses.

$$\frac{1}{2}S \pm T \pm P \pm E \pm N \pm T$$

1.1.3 Clauses with Location tagmeme initial.

1.1.3.1 Location and predicate tagmemes. L + P (9, 10)

eg. 9 Na' zoë' 'There he-is'

1.1.3.2 Location, Predicate and Object tagmemes. L + P + O (4, 6, 66)

eg. 6 ga nuunë' dxin 'where he-is-there-doing work'

1.1.3.3 Location, predicate, object, location tagmemes. L + P + O + L (4)

eg. 4 ga na' nuzë' du xcula beo' queë' ga (clause) 'where there
he-has-hanging rope loop moon of-him where (clause)'

1.1.3.4 Location, predicate, subject tagmemes. (L + P + S) 6

eg. 6 ga zë du 'where it-hangs rope'

1.1.31.1 Generalized formula for location initial clauses.

$$\frac{1}{2}L \pm P \pm S \pm O \pm L$$

1.1.5 Clauses with object tagmeme initial.

1.1.5.1 Object, Predicate, O - P (5)

eg. 5 yötä rahuë' xihuö 'tortillas he-eats dinner'

1.1.5.2 Object-Predicate-Location. O - P - L. (3)

eg. 3 bitibi dxin ruunë' la' guixi' 'not-any work he-does in field'

1.1.5.E.1 Generalized formula.

#O ♫ P ♫ L ♫ O

1.2 Clauses as fillers of spots.

1.2.1 Clauses that fill location spot.

eg. 4 ga rejë' bö' 'where he-goes wind'

6 ruyuunu gazxi nuunë' dxin 'she-looks where he-is-there-doing work'

1.2.2 Clauses that fill Time spot.

eg. # 13 cate8 guyaanu ia'tu yöyuunu 'when she went again she-went-saw'

1.2.3 Clauses that fill object spot.

eg. 5 requinu ba ruunë' dxin 'she-believes(thinks) is he-does work?'

1.2.4 Clauses that fill equational spot.

eg. 16 böni' na' böaquinë' machin dzö'öba' gui'ado' 'man that he-turned-into monkey it-is mountain.'

1.3 Conclusions from general data.

1.3.1 In its most common occurrence the clause occurs with the predicate tagmeme initial.

1.3.2 Change of word order occurs for emphasis on initial tagmeme.

eg. Dzö'ö ni guiöj 'there-is here a-rock'
 Guiöj back dzö'ö ni. 'Back much there-is here' (Exclamatory)

1.3.3 Change of word order occurs to avoid ambiguity.

eg. Sara bë'ëbi' nisa Lisa 'Sara she-gives water (to)-Lisa.

2 Phrases fill all major spots.

2.1 Predicate tagmeme phrases.

2.1.1 Head plus modifier.

eg. χ rudzejada' back 'I-rejoice much' (extra-textual)

2.1.2 Negativizer plus head.

eg. 1 cabi gu'unë' 'not he-wanted'

6 biti' guquibe'inu 'not she-knew'

2.1.3 Question marker plus head.

eg. 5 ba ruunë' 'does he-do'

6 gazxi nuunë' 'where does-he'

2.2 Subject tagmeme phrases.

2.2.1 Limiter plus head.

eg. 1 tu böni' 'a man'

15 la' böni' 'same man'

17 ia'zicarö bönach 'other people'

2.2.2 Head plus possession indicator.

eg. 5 nigula queë' 'woman of-him'

6 böni' queënu 'man of-her'

2.2.3 Negativizer plus head.

eg. 9 biti'ca' bi 'not-a-bit thing'

2.2.4 Head plus possession indicator plus limiter.

eg. 6 böni' queënu na' 'man of-her this'

2.2.5 Head plus limiter.

eg. 16 böni' na' 'man this'

2.3 Object Tagmeme phrases.

2.3.1 Head-modifier-modifier. (Noun-noun-noun)

eg. $\hat{2}$ du xcula beo' 'rope loop moon' (a rope looped like the moon)

2.3.2 Head plus modifier-modifier-possession indicator.

eg. 5 du xcula beo' queë' rope loop moon of-him'

2.3.3 Head-modifier-possession indicator.

eg. 6 yöta xihuö queë' 'tortilla-dinner od him'

~~2.4~~

2.4 Time tagmeme phrases.

2.4.1 Head plus limiter.

1
eg. dza ni' day that'

2.4.2 Limiter-head.

eg. 6 yugu' dza 'every day'

2.4.3 Head-connector-modifier-head.

eg. 12 rëla en lahui' dza 'night and face day'

2.4.4 Head-head.

eg. 15 desde cate' since when'

2.5 Location tagmeme phrases.

2.5.1 Directional-head.

eg. 2 la' guixi' 'to field'

2.5.2 Directional-head-possessive.

eg. 6 la' yël quegaquie' 'to field(planted) of them'

2.6 Equative tagmeme phrases.

2.6.1 Head-limiter.

eg. 10 böñach 'face people' (26)

17 queëba' machin 'of-it monkey'

3 Sentences.

3.1 In its simplest form the sentence is a single clause of a single verb complex with included subject suffix.

eg. Xequi'da' 'I am tired.'

3.2 The sentence may be two simple clauses juxtaposed with no connective.

eg. cf. sentence 1 and 4. (Cl . Cl)

~~3.3~~ 3.3 The sentence may be two clauses with connective.

eg. cf. sentence 2. (Cl . c . Cl)

3.4 The sentence may be extended almost indefinitely by combinations of 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3:

eg. Sentence 6 (Cl . c . Cl . Cl . c . Cl . c . Cl . Cl . c . Cl .
c . Cl)